

Executive Registry

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20 September 1965

Dear Clark:

I am enclosing a package of information on how the KGB is mounting a worldwide "undercutting" campaign against the CIA. I thought perhaps you would be interested in this and to know that I am making it available to members of Congress who normally over-see our activities.

We are looking forward to being with you this coming Friday.

Sincerely,

(Signed). "RED"

W. F. Raborn

Enclosure

Honorable Clark Clifford  
Chairman  
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board  
Washington, D. C.

WFR/mfb  
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September 1965

The Soviet and Communist Bloc Defamation Campaign

Synopsis

1. The Soviet and Communist Bloc effort to defame and discredit U.S. departments and agencies that have major responsibilities for national security has been underway since 1948. A major program is aimed at the Central Intelligence Agency and has grown markedly in quantity and intensity since the establishment of the KGB Department of Disinformation in 1959. This program now produces between 350 and 400 derogatory items annually. Communist press and radio attacks against the Agency reveal an increased sophistication in recent years. In addition, many Communist-inspired books and pamphlets which attack the existence, purposes and status of CIA, and reflect a substantial budget for this activity, have appeared throughout Southeast Asia, Africa and the Near East.

2. CIA, in its intelligence role, is feared by the Soviets for its responsibility and ability to penetrate and unmask

Communist conspiracies against democratic institutions. By striking at CIA, the attack also centers on the Intelligence Community with particular thrust against the FBI and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. The objective of the overall program is to achieve the destruction, break-up and neutralization of CIA. A basic requirement of Soviet policy and a major objective of the Soviet Intelligence Services is the destruction of effective security collaboration among the non-Communist countries in order to carry out Soviet long-term strategic plans for subversion, political upheavals, popular fronts and the eventual political isolation of the United States.

3. Defamation and forgery operations are conceived, directed and perpetrated by a single organization located outside the target areas which makes use of local Communist or pro-Communist propagandists and of cooperating Communist Bloc intelligence and security services. Although such undertakings are the products of the Disinformation Department of the KGB, known as Department "D", which is headed by General Ivan Ivanovich Agayants, they are reviewed and passed on by the Soviet leadership. The operations of the Soviet Disinformation Department have been successful thus far in stimulating a wide

replay in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and even in the United States. CIA will continue to be the prime target of Soviet disinformation and defamation operations.

Soviet and Communist Disinformation

4. It is an established Soviet principle -- now embraced by all members of the Communist Bloc -- that a large percentage of subversive activity be devoted to the planning and conduct of disinformation (dezinformatsiya) operations which mold, divide, and mislead other governments or leaders, and cause them to adopt policies and undertakings which are ultimately advantageous only to the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership has charged the Soviet State Security Service, the KGB, to place very great emphasis, both organizationally and operationally, on disinformation activity. Communist Bloc services, in turn, are playing their part in this work.

5. What are disinformation operations? "Dezinformatsiya", in Soviet terminology, is false, incomplete or misleading information that is passed, fed or confirmed to a targetted individual, group, or country. "Propaganda", as it is defined by Free World students, may be used as a support element of dezinformatsiya, but propaganda per se lacks the precision and bite of disinformation.

6. Soviet disinformation activity is planned and directed by a specialized Department of the Soviet State Security Service. This KGB Department, which was created to intensify Soviet disinformation activity, is headed by General Ivan Ivanovich Agayants, a senior, professional intelligence officer with long experience and well-developed agent and political contacts in Western Europe, especially in France, where he served under the name Ivan Ivanovich Avalov. At one time in France he controlled the French spy Georges Paques who was sentenced to life imprisonment on 7 July 1964.

7. The assignment of Agayants to take over the disinformation task indicates the high priority that the then Chairman of the Presidium, Nikita Khrushchev, gave to the campaign against American leadership and activity. Chairman Kosygin and First Secretary Brezhnev have made no changes in that program. Department "D" is still directly tied into the Presidium in the planning of its work.\*

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\*It will be recalled that Khrushchev, during his U.S. visit in September 1959, engaged in more than one discussion at the White House and during his tour designed to destroy confidence in American intelligence. His statements and remarks made during interviews, it is known, were prepared in advance in consultation with the Department of Disinformation.

8. Agayants' Department is staffed by an estimated forty to fifty geographical and functional specialists in Moscow alone; it avails itself directly and peremptorily of the world-wide resources, manpower and operations, of the Soviet security apparatus. The purposes, broadly stated, of the Disinformation Department are to:

a. Destroy the confidence of the Congress and the American public in U.S. personnel and agencies engaged in anti-Communist and Cold War activity.

b. Undermine American prestige and Democratic institutions and denigrate American leadership with NATO governments and other non-Communist countries, thereby contributing directly to the break-up of the NATO alliance.

c. Sow distrust and create grounds for subversion and revolt against the U.S. in the Western Hemisphere and among the new nations of Africa and Asia.

These purposes and objectives, it must be emphasized, have been established by the highest elements of Party and Government in the Soviet Union.

9. Personal experiences with this program have been described by officers who have left the Soviet system and are now in the United States. One of these -- Alexander Kaznacheev, who served in Burma as an Information Officer -- described the program and the process in a recent personal memoir:

"... Articles were originated in KGB headquarters in Moscow - for example, about alleged American support of the Indonesian rebels, frequent American violations of Cambodia's sovereignty, subversive activity of Japan in the region, etc. The articles were received from Moscow on microfilm and reproduced as enlarged photo-copies at the Embassy. It was my job to translate them into English. Some other member of Vozny's\* group would then arrange through local agents for the articles to be placed in one of the Burmese newspapers, usually pro-Communist-oriented. The newspaper would translate the article into Burmese, make slight changes in style, and sign it from 'Our Special Correspondent in Singapore', for instance. Upon publication of such an article, the illegitimate creation of Soviet Intelligence receives an appearance of legitimacy and becomes a sort of document.

"But the work was not yet finished. I then took the published article and checked it against the original Russian text. I noted all the changes and variations made by the newspaper, and wrote down in Russian the final version of the article. This final version was then immediately sent back to Moscow, this time through TASS channels.

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\*Ivan Mikhailovich Vozny, a KGB officer, was head of the Political Intelligence Section at the Soviet Embassy in Rangoon, Burma.

"The last stage of this grandiose forgery was under the special care of the Soviet Information Bureau, TASS, Radio-Moscow, the Soviet press, and Soviet diplomatic representatives abroad. It is their duty to see that the material is republished and distributed in all countries of the region as if they were genuine documents which had appeared in the Burmese press. . . ."\*

10. Although the KGB is able to fabricate in Moscow whatever material is needed for its disinformation operations, it has been making more and more use of material published in the West, some of which had been planted there by earlier disinformation activities. An examination of the books and articles cited in any of the anti-CIA pamphlets reveals extensive use of Western source material, often taken out of context. The most recent Soviet articles on the Agency are exclusively "documented" from Western books, articles, and newspapers.

11. In the fifty-eight pages of CIA Over Asia, a slanderous booklet published in Kanpur, India, in 1962, for example, American newspapers and magazines are cited eleven times, periodicals of other Western or neutral countries fifteen times. The fact that some references are made to Communist organs is obscured by repeated citations from reputable American publications.

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\*Alexander Kaznacheev, Inside a Soviet Embassy, (New York, 1962), pp. 172-3.

12. A study of Soviet disinformation shows that the Soviets are engaged in an impressive research project to collect and process information and speculation about American intelligence and security services that appears in Western publications and newspapers. This study also has confirmed the deep interest of the Soviet services in the development and "milking" of Western journalists. Americans figure prominently among these.

13. The measure and depth of Department "D's" activity against the CIA may be judged from a single episode. A booklet attacking the former DCI, Mr. Allen W. Dulles, entitled A Study of a Master Spy (Allen Dulles), was printed and distributed in London during 1961, and has since been reprinted. The ostensible author was a prominent maverick Labor Member of Parliament, one Bob Edwards, who was supposedly assisted in the effort by a British journalist. It is now known that the manuscript was researched in Moscow by a senior KGB disinformation officer, Colonel Vassily Sitnikov, and then served up for final polish and printing in the United Kingdom. Mr. Dulles himself discussed this episode on a TV round-table on 29 March 1964:

" . . . Mr. Hanson Baldwin: Well, that brings up too, doesn't it, the question of disinformation. What kind of disinformation is being distributed by the Soviets today? Can you explain this, Allen?

"Mr. Dulles: Well, I have here right in my hand. . .

"Mr. Baldwin: And what is disinformation, anyway?

"Mr. Dulles: Well, this is it. Here's A Study of a Master Spy. Here's a booklet that was written about me. Now, it bears on the outside here - you see - A Study of a Master Spy. I won't give you the names of the authors, but one of them is a member of the legislature of a very great friendly country. But the real author of this. . . I am the 'master spy' - I have found out recently after certain research has been done, that the real author of this pamphlet is a Colonel Sitnikov whom I believe you know, or know of. He is the real author.

"Mr. Deryabin\*: Sitnikov? I used to work with Sitnikov in Vienna when he was Deputy Chief of the Soviet spy force and he was the Chief of an American desk, I mean working against Americans. He was trained as an intelligence officer. One time he was a spy chief in Berlin and Potsdam, another time he was in Vienna. To my knowledge last time he was in Bonn as a Counsellor to the Embassy, but I mentioned him in my book and in the articles in Life in 1959 and it is my belief that he is at home now.

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\*Peter Deryabin is a former KGB officer, now in the United States. His personal memoir, The Secret World, (New York, 1959) is probably the most authoritative public account of KGB organization and activity.

"Mr. Dulles: He has a whole dossier on me, I've read some things there about myself that even I didn't know. . . ."

Continuing Attack on the DCI

14. The resignation of Mr. Allen Dulles and the appointment of Mr. John McCone necessitated a shift in the Communist attack on the Director of Central Intelligence. The Soviet propaganda transition from one Director of Central Intelligence to another was accomplished by June 1963 with the publication of a pamphlet entitled, Spy No. 1. Issued by the State Publishing House for Political Literature in Moscow (June 1963), the substance of the book is summarized on the title page:

"John Alex McCone is the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. Behind the exterior of a respectable gentleman is hidden the seasoned spy, the organizer of dirty political intrigues and criminal conspiracies.

"This pamphlet tells of the past of the chief of American intelligence, of the methods by which he amassed his millions and became the servant of the uncrowned kings of America, the Rockefellers, and of the influence which McCone exerts on the policies of the US government, particularly in the Cuban affair. . . ."

15. In November 1964, the Soviet newspaper Komsomol'skaya Pravda published a further attack on Mr. McCone entitled, "The

Spy With the Slide Rule". Referring to Mr. McCone's activities as Director of CIA, the article added, "Under the leadership of McCone, the CIA was transformed from just an invisible government to a government of US oil monopolies, mainly Standard Oil and its owners, the Rockefeller group. All of the military adventures in Lebanon, in Southeast Asia, Aden, and Brazil, were carried out with the participation of emissaries of the man with the slide rule."

16. On 8 December 1964, Moscow domestic radio stated, "The American newspaper New York Herald Tribune had reported that:

"U.S. Central Intelligence Agency boss John McCone has secretly approached President Johnson with a resignation request. . . .the American press prefers for the moment not to speak about the actual reason for McCone's resignation. The reason for it consists, in the first instance, in the serious collapse of American foreign policy, which, to a considerable degree, is formulated on the data provided by the CIA. Basing its activity on defense of the interests of the largest monopolistic groups based on the ideology of anti-Communism and militarism, the CIA is proving incapable of a more or less objective correct appraisal of the balance of power in the world arena . . . .The American journalists, David White /sic/ and Thomas Ross, drawing attention to the subversive activity of the CIA, just call it 'The Invisible Government'\*. . . .There is a basis to suspect, White and Ross write, that frequently the foreign policy of the

\*Reference is to the book by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, The Invisible Government, New York, Random House, 1964.

United States as made public in the speeches of the state officials, acts in one direction, while secretly, through the Invisible Government, it acts in the opposite direction."

17. President Johnson's appointment of Admiral William F. Raborn on 11 April 1965 gave the Soviet press another opportunity to review and renew its attack on the DCI. Moscow domestic radio announced the next day that the appointment signified "the further strengthening of cooperation between the espionage apparatus and the military and military industrial monopolies."

18. An editorial published on 14 April 1965 in the Tanzanian newspaper, The Nationalist, which was replayed by the New China News Agency, claimed that Admiral Raborn's appointment implied an "attempt to save the face of the U.S. over accusations of interference in the internal affairs of newly independent states in particular."

19. Krasnaya Zvezda in Moscow asserted (18 April 1965) that the departure of Mr. McCone and General Marshall S. Carter was "connected with new failures in assessing those forces against which American imperialism in aiming its aggressive blows." The article concluded, "The American imperialists probably assume that Raborn will be a more

successful accomplice for them in the struggle against the peoples of the socialist countries and other freedom-loving peoples. These hopes are hardly justified, however, since in our era the course of historical events is not being determined by the Raborns and not even by their Wall Street bosses."

20. On 5 June 1965, the Greek Communist newspaper Avghi, in an article entitled, "U.S.'s Master Spy, William Raborn", alleged that the appointment of Admiral Raborn was intended "to lessen the enmity between the C.I.A. and the Defense Department Intelligence Service." The article continued, "The main reason is the fact that the key posts in the American administration are now being taken over by representatives of the top and overt form of monopolist capital, the most reactionary force that leans toward dangerous adventurism. At least that is what the events in Indo-china, Dominican Republic, Congo and elsewhere show."

The Communist Charges Against CIA

21. The themes exploited by the campaign of the Communist Bloc against CIA, its Director, and its operations have remained generally the same since the beginning of the attack. Nevertheless, slants and replays have been constantly adjusted to changing world and regional political developments and to the vulnerabilities of

target audiences and individuals, particularly in the newly emerging areas. The basic anti-CIA themes in use as of mid-summer 1965 are:

- a. CIA is an instrument of American imperialism. It is racist, and a direct threat to national liberation movements.
- b. In its work against national liberation movements, CIA engages in espionage, economic and political subversion, sabotage, assassination and terrorism; it trains and supports counter-revolutionary forces.
- c. CIA is an instrument of American aggression and gathers intelligence for aggressive plans against peace-loving socialist states. Diplomats, tourists, and scientists are used by CIA for these purposes.
- d. CIA dominates and generates American foreign policy.
- e. CIA engages in psychological warfare, utilizing falsehoods to undermine the international authority of the USSR.

f. CIA is fighting the Communist Party of the USA and the Communist and Worker Parties of other capitalist countries.

g. CIA spies on the allies of the United States and overthrows its henchmen who are unable to suppress national liberation movements.

22. The increasing weight of the attack on CIA becomes evident when an examination is made of the periodicals International Affairs, New Times, and Kommunist, all three of which are issued in Moscow in English and other languages.

International Affairs carried one major article on American intelligence in 1960 and another in 1962. Since March 1964, there have been five articles devoted to that theme. These articles have alleged in general that intelligence controls U.S. foreign policy and big business controls intelligence.\* The New Times published one article on CIA in 1961, and one in 1963.

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\*The articles were entitled "Imperialist Intelligence and Foreign Policy" (March 1964), "CIA Intrigues in Latin America" (June 1964), "An Imperialist Spy Consortium" (September 1964), "U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Policy" (October 1964), "U.S. Intelligence and the Monopolies" (January 1965). There were short references to CIA in articles dealing with other topics in its issues of July and August 1965.

Three articles concerning CIA were published by this multi-  
lingual magazine during 1964.\* In May 1965, Kommunist  
published an article with the title, "The American Intelligence  
Service is a Weapon of Adventurism and Provocation".

23. The assassination of President Kennedy was the  
subject of a book by Joachim Joesten entitled, Oswald -  
Assassin or Fall Guy? (1964) published by Marzani and  
Munsell Publishers, Inc. of New York, in which Joesten  
states that there is no question in his mind that Oswald was a  
minor CIA agent. Marzani, a known Communist, was co-  
author of a pamphlet, Cuba vs. CIA, published in 1961.  
Joesten is revealed in a German Security Police memorandum,  
dated 8 November 1937, to have been an active member of the  
German Communist Party (KPD) since 12 May 1932; he was  
issued Communist Party membership card (Mitgliedsbuch)  
number 532315.

24. A primary aim of Soviet disinformation is to sow  
distrust among the Western allies by discrediting the policies

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\*"American Cassandra" (January 22, 1964), "Soviet Gold" and  
"The Espionage Jungle" (August 12, 1964). There have been two  
pieces on CIA in the magazine to date in 1965.

and motives of the United States and American methods of implementing those policies. Considerable attention is devoted to creating apprehension, uncertainty and antagonism toward the United States among the uncommitted and underdeveloped nations. Thus, the Soviets reiterate the long-standing Communist charge that the United States is imperialistic and seeks world domination. They continually emphasize the theme that CIA is a major instrument in the execution of American policy. Two pamphlets, CIA Over Asia (Kanpur, 1964) and America's Undeclared War (Bombay, 1963), are dedicated to this theme.

25. An example of the use of the daily press and radio to mount this line of attack occurred two years ago in Ghana. Sufficient time has now passed to permit an evaluation of the episode. In late February and March 1963, CIA was subjected to an attack in the Ghana press and radio which attempted to tie the Agency to the death of Premier Qassim in Iraq. This campaign was allegedly based on an article in the French paper L'Express which asserted that CIA was the "author of the Iraqi murder". An article in the Ghana Evening News for February 28, 1963 was headlined "Neo-Colonialist Terror in Iraq Menacing Threat Against Africa". On May 15, 1965, the Spark, a weekly

Ghanian newspaper, carried a front page story with the headline "The Secret War of CIA: The Killer at Your Door". According to the article, "This murderous game, which goes by the innocent-sounding name of 'intelligence', has its Western-world nerve-centre in America's Central Intelligence Agency, known briefly as C.I.A." Included in the article were eight illustrations of "spy equipment". Four of these illustrations had earlier appeared in West Berlin - The Facts, an anti-CIA tract that was published in Moscow in 1962.

26. A major theme developed principally in the uncommitted areas during the past twelve to eighteen months has been the alleged interference of the United States, and especially CIA, in the internal affairs of other countries. Three recent pamphlets, American Intelligence - This Is Your Enemy (Cairo, April 1964), The Truth About Komla Gbedemah (Ghana, October 1964), and Operation Boa Constrictor (Colombo, 1964) develop the idea that through its intelligence and aid agencies, the United States is engaged in a conspiracy to dominate the Middle East, Africa and Asia. The conspiracy allegedly takes the form of active efforts to overthrow anti-American governments and to gain economic control of these areas through foreign aid and economic exploitation.

Soviet Forgeries

27. One of the preferred instruments utilized by the Soviets to disseminate disinformation is the forged document. Detailed testimony on thirty-two U.S. forgeries attributable to the Communist Bloc was given by Mr. Richard Helms of CIA on 2 June 1961 before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Fourteen new instances of forged U.S. official documents have come under scrutiny by the end of July 1965. Some of the more recent examples are still being studied. Although CIA has not been omitted from some of these spurious documents, the principal purpose of such forgeries has been to discredit U.S. policies and the representatives of other U.S. agencies overseas, such as the Department of State, USIA, the Peace Corps, the Armed Forces of the United States, and American political leaders generally.

28. The Soviet defamation campaign, whatever may be its targets, has but one objective. Defamation of CIA is only an aspect of a coherent, well-orchestrated effort to denigrate the United States and its policies before world opinion. Every department and agency of the United States Government is a potential target of the Disinformation Department when such

attacks will serve Soviet interests. Whatever may be the immediate subject of any single Soviet disinformation operation -- CIA, the State Department, the Peace Corps, or USIA -- the ultimate objective is to isolate and destroy what the KGB designates as "Glavni Vrag" ("Main Enemy"), the United States.